CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION. House of Representatives, June 6, 1854.

Mr. Aiken, from the committee on that subject, by consent, reported a light-house appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Letcher asked leave, which was refused, to present a resolution requiring the Committee on the District of Columbia to enquire into the expediency of so altering the charter of the city of Washington, rs to require elections to be made viva voce, instead of by ballot.

It was ascertained that there was not a que rum present. Motions to go into Committee of the Whole, to adjourn, to order a call of the House, &c., were successively made, and votes clicited. A call developed the fact that 111 members were present. At one o'clock the House adjourned.

WASHINGTON MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

Yesterday was a day of much excitement in Washington, and an extraordinarily large vote was polled. The following are the officers

John T. Towers, Mayor-majority, 438. Members of the City Council

First Ward.—Alderman—W. T. Dove. Common Council—J. Kelly, O. S. Paine, W. G. H. Newman. Assessor—T. F. Harkness
Second Ward.—Alderman—W. F. Bayly.
Common Council—J. R. Barr, G. H. Plant, J.

Third Ward.—Alderman—French S. Evans.
Common Council—J. T. Walker, J. W. Davis,
J. A. M. Duncanson. Assessor—J. M. Down-

ing.

Fourth Ward.—Alderman—John P. Pepper.
Common Council—John Ball, A. McD. Davis,
J. L. Henshaw.

Fifth Ward.—Alderman—John H. Houston.

Common Council—S. C. Busey, J. T. Kilmon, J. MoCauley. Assessor—J. Hepburn.

Sixth Ward.—Alderman—S. A. H. Marks.
Common Council—H. Stewart, Jeremiah Cross,

George R Ruff.

Seventh Ward.—Alderman—P. M. Pearson.
Common Council—John L Smith, W. C. Bamberger, J. R. Gill. Assessor—P. Hepburn, jr.

A SERENADE.-Judge Douglas was serenaded at the St. Nicholas Hotel, in New York, on Saturday night, by a band, at the head of two thousand of the "Young Democracy," to whom he made a speech. The "great principle of Popular Sovereignty," as it has been somehow overed by the Young Democracy in the Nebraska bill, was the subject of eulogy on the occasion. The Judge told them that it was out of respect for this principle the Missouri Compromise had been repealed; and some of them believed it!

When Judge Douglas had concluded, Capt. Rynders came forth, and delivered a speech of like tenor, though less eloquent, less instructive, and less deceptive, but more humorous, and in accordance with the feelings of the assemblage.

THE MAYOR'S ELECTION.—There was great exultation in Washington last night, and even until this morning. The streets were full of people and full of all manner of noises. Many were "fatigued," as it is politely termed-yet there was very little strife; or, indeed, none worth naming, so far as we have heard.

A FIRE IN WASHINGTON .- The three-story cabinet-making establishment of Mr. James Wilhams, on Seventh street, near the Odd Fellows' Hall, was burned down yesterday afternoon. It was a miserably frail structure and the firemen were in great peril. Indeed it was wonderful that many of them were not crushed to death by the falling walls, from walls were rocking above them. Never did we behold so manifest a deficiency of authority in or connected with the Fire Department

The steamers Prometheus, Illinois, and North Star, all sailed from New York, at noon yesterday, full of passengers, for California.

INV HOUSES PRINTING TRINGRAPH TELEGRAPHIC CORRESPONDENCE

FOR DAILY NATIONAL ERA.

Arrival of the Daniel Webster. NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 5 .- The Daniel Web ster is at the Balize, with a fortnight's later news from California. The Star of the West had left San Juan with a million and a half of dollars in gold, and two hundred and fifty passengers.

The revolution in Nicaragua resulted in the

triumph of the insurgents. SECOND DESPATCH.

NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 6 — The steamer El Dorado is below, from Aspinwall. The Golden Gate, before the sailing of the Daniel Webster, had arrived from San Francisco. Election in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 6.—The election in Philadelphia to-day is progressing spiritedly. The Know Nothings believe that they will

German Musical Associations. BALTIMORE, JUNE 6 -The German Musica Associations have another grand procession to-day. They have marched to the cattle show

nds, where a magnificent festival is prepared for them. Fire at Havre de Grace. HAVRE DE GRACE, MD., JUNE 6 .- Whitaker,

Bryant, & Co.'s iron works was burnt here last night. Loss \$15,000...

Know Nothings Rejoicing. BALTIMORE, JUNE 6 .- The Know Nothing had great rejoicings last night, upon the recep-tion of the news of the result of the Washing

Markets.

BALTIMORE, JUNE 5.—Flour—sales of Howard Street, at \$9; City Mills, at \$8.75.
Wheat—sales of 45,000 bushels red, at \$2.04 wheat—sales of 45,000 bishess red, at \$2.04
a \$2.13; white, at \$2.15 a \$2.20. Corn—sales
14,000 bushels white, at 75 a 76 cents; yellow, at 80 a 81 cents. Oate—sales of Maryland, at 58 a 60 cents; Pennsylvania, at 62 cents. Rye at \$1 05 a \$1.14.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 6.- Flour-sales a \$9 12 a \$9.25. Wheat-red at \$2 10, white at \$2 20. Corn at 84.

Election progresses actively and peacefully New York, June 6.—Flour dull; sales of 7,000 bbls. of State at \$9 a \$9.31, Southern at \$9.50 a \$9.75. Wheat firm; sales at yesterday's prices. Corn—sales of 30,000 bushels mixed at 75, yellow at 80. Cotton dull. Stocks

The cholera is making its appearance, with much malignity, at several points in the West.

NEBRASKA AND KANSAS SPEECH OF HON, EMERSON ETHERIDGE.

OF TENNESSEE. In the House of Representatives, May 17, 1854.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. STANTON, of Ten-

nessee, in the chair,) Mr. ETHERIDGE said—
Mr. CHAIRMAN: There was a time when I desired, more than now, to submit to the Commit-tee, my opinious in relation to the bill for organ-

izing Territorial Governments for Kansas and Nebraska. The stirring and exciting scenes through which we have passed, within the last few days, have not increased my anxiety to be heard, or given me confidence in being able to secure the attention of the House. Still, sir, I feel that partitude measure is consummated there eel that until the measure is consummated, there is hope, and while there is hope remaining, my duty shall be performed. I freely admit the diffiduty shall be performed. I freely admit the diffi-culty of moving men from positions already taken, or persuading them to renounce opinions publicly expressed; still, sir, there are many here who are now struggling between the man-dates of duty and the exactions of party and sectional association. To these I would address myself; for when right and party allegiance have clashing interests, that man who pauses for hon-est deliberation, will not always sacrifice the first on the altar of the last.

on the altar of the last.

As but an hour is assigned me for the expre-As but an nour is assigned me for the expression of my opinions upon a subject which, confessedly, involves the nationality of the two great political parties of the country, and, in the judgment of many, the integrity of the Union—a subject which, all admit, brings no practical yood to any section of the country, while it is addressed to the country weightings of sections. to the worst passions and prejudices of each; subject suggestive of a future, which even boldness is unwilling to portray—when I think, sir, of all these things, and the consequences involved in our action, I feel my unfitness for the task which duty imposes. In attempting to pro-

"I stand in pause, where I shall first begin. To the dispassionate observer—aye, sir, to the whole American People—have you not, for weeks past, presented a remarkable spectacle? Are not your daily proceedings a striking commentary upon those assurances, which your own party so recently gave the people? and that, too, at a time when it was being borne into power, as you alleged, by the conservative and national sentiment of the country? Are you not, this day, furnishing a powerful and satisfactory argument to those sectional agitators, who have always inthose sectional agitators, who have always in-reighed against the truth and sanctity of political pledges? And is not all this sufficient make us suspect weakness or corruption in those who, for their supposed political worth, were so recently called to the highest places of position

and power?

Have you not, sir, for the last four month been engaged in bartering away the confidence of the people, for that which they will scorn as an equivalent, and against which the voice of the larger portion has been raised in tones of intemperate opposition, or heard in low murmurs sorrow and complaint?

More than this, sir; are you not now attempting to force upon an unwilling people a measure they have never required—which no necessity or public interest demands, and which its friends and authors admit will be, if consummated, but a barren victory — a fruitless crown — a measure, sir, which this House, if left free from the influence of those threats and promises which are issued, daily, from the other end of the Avenue, would, in one hour, bury so deep, that a thousand con-sultations of the Cabinet, and as many midnight gatherings of heterogeneous politicians, could no again start it into life? Consign it, sir, to an unhonored grave without a single mourner, unless it should be that little band, who for months past have kept constant vigil around what they feared

was its dying couch?

I am here to-day to plead for my own section of the country—to ask Union-loving Representa-tives, North and South, to consider our real, our practical interests, and not, hastily, involve them in jeopardy or ruin. I demand no concession of abstract principle, which brings with it a real injury or an abstract wrong. I prefer the peace and prosperity of the South and of the Union, and prosperity of the South and of the Union, to an empty triumph which may endanger both.

True, sir, in making this appeal, I bring not with me that prestige of success which great names inspire. I must, therefore, rest my cause much on its own merits, and that sense of justice which stirs in avery heart to which stirs in avery heart to which

h stirs in every heart to which I shall express my views respectfully, but plainly. I accord to others as much candor as I can claim for myself. I do not know that I ever had so much confidence in my own opinions as to cause me to judge harshly, or impute to other a desire to do wrong, rather than a wish to do right. I had rather be the apologist than the persecutor of those whose opinions do not agree with my own. I believe there are more defective

judgments than depraved hearts, and that much which the public censor would set down to the account of corruption, might, more properly, be ascribed to our varied interests and educati feelings.

To the differences in our personal and political

interests, of which many seem unconscious, rather than to the native depravity of the friends or op-

ponents of the bill, may be attributed much of that unnecessary bitterness and bad feeling which, up to this time, seems to have attended the consideration of the measure.

The main question which I propose to consider is the repeal of the 8th section of the act of 6th March, 1820, commonly called the "Missouri Compromise." Not that the bill is otherwise free from serious and insuperable objections; but because, in the opinion of many wise and temperate men of all parties, the repeal of the act in ate men of all parties, the repeal of the act in question will, ultimately, result in mischief to

he country.

I desire if I can, to consider the question protically; to test it by the rules of common sense, and to ascertain what good, if any, will result to

either section of the country by the repeal.

Before proceeding further, I must, however, be permitted to say a word to those who have evinced so much anxiety for my political welfare, and who have admonished me, that should I vote against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise act of 1820, I need not expect to be retained in while 166. The disinterestal kindness which public life. The disinterested kindness which prompted the advice, best bespeaks its own comdation; but as I shall disregard the entreaties some and the expostulations of others, it is due to them to say that their kindness has been duly appreciated. A seat in Congress brings with it no such charms as have caused me to think, for a moment, of the means of retaining it. Were I to do so, however, I should conclude, that a conscientious and faithful discharge of my whole duty, and especially adherence to my public pledges, would be the surest way to retain the confidence of those who sent me here. When I find myself surrendering my own judgment of the propriety of a public measure, and yielding a support to that which I cannot approve, because the wrong may promise more applause than the right, then, and in that event, I should deserve

the scorn of my constituents and the contempt of I confess, that so far as the sentiment of the South is expressed by their Representatives on this floor, I am in a minority in my opposition to that part of the bill which proposes to declare the Missouri Compromise "inoperative and void." This circumstance has caused me to review and re-review the facts and arguments which drove me to this determination. I have been ready at all times to give my own section of the Confederacy, and my colleagues from that quarter of the country, the full benefit of all doubts upon the subject; and if I could possibly reconcile it with Southern inter-I could possibly reconcile it with Southern interests, and my piedges to the people, I would now aid them in the work of repeal. But, sir, I have not been able to see how the South, in any conceivable event, can be benefited, by repealing the act of 1820, while evils may, and I fear will, grow out of it, which it would seem that madness alone could have hoped to arouse. And this proposition, with all its hazardous consequences comes upon us suddenly without warm. quences, comes upon us suddenly, without warning, and at a time when the most observant statesmen could see no cloud week.

horizon-at a time when the shouts of grateful millions, which went up to Heaven for the peace offerings of 1850, had not ceased; and while the words of sober congratulation, which were every-where heard from the friends of the Union, were

still saluting our ears.
It is difficult, sir, to recur to the history the Missouri Compromise, and more difficult to estimate the consequences of its repeal, without considering, at the same time, some other epochs in our political history, equally remarkable for the passions which they engendered, and the in-terests they imperilled. We cannot forget the struggle of 1798-'9, which severely tried the strength of the Federal Union, and resulted in a repeal of the alien and sedition laws, which produced it. This contest, from its very nature. could not have been sectional, as the principles it established were applicable alike to every section of the country. Hence the struggle of 1798-'9

never has and never will be revived.

Not so, however, with the Missouri crisis of 1820, the Nullification dangers of 1832-3, and the more recent contest of 1850, at which several periods the integrity of the Federal Union was involved. These contests were all sectional; they originated in a difference of pursuits, of institutions, of interests, and of education. Hence the difficulty of healing the wounds which were inflicted during these struggles, and hence the dan ger of re-opening now those questions which then proved so fearful, and in the adjustment of which the best talents and the loftiest patriotism were so eminently displayed.

As the value and importance of the Missouri Compromise cannot be properly estimated at this time, without recurring to the events which produced it, I shall review these events, at the risk of being considered tedious. It was the first time that the slave and non-slaveholding States were found arrayed against each other; and the first time, ince the adoption of the Federal Constitution, that Slavery began to be considered with reference to political power.

In 1819, Mr. Scott, (then a delegate from the Territory of Missouri,) presented to Congress a memorial, asking that the Territory of Missouri might be permitted to form a Constitution of State Government, and be admitted into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original States. Pending the consideration of this question in Congress, various efforts were made for the restriction of Slavery—some proposing to apply the restriction to the unorganized territories west of the Mississippi, while others embraced, also, the then Territory of Missouri. Slavery existed at that time in the Missouri Territory, and the North required that Missouri, in forming a State Con-stitution, should abolish or not recognise it. This proposition, to restrict Slavery in the State of Missouri was entertained and insisted on by the Northern members of the House of Representatives, who then, as now, had a very decided ma-jority. The Senate held different views, and was jority. The Senate held different views, and was unwilling to impose any restriction on the State, in the formation of its Constitution. Thus, the two Houses could not agree; the session was far advanced, and this delicate and perplexing question, which then seemed so ominous of evil, was unadjusted. Argument and entreaty had been exhausted in vain. The firmest and most experienced statesmen began to tremble for the safety of the Republic, as they beheld the people and their representatives about to hazard the peace of the country and the union of the States, by

into tranquillity the storm of political and section-On the 16th of February, 1820, Mr. Thomas, Senator from Illinois, renewed his proposition, to restrict Slavery in all the territory west of the Mississippi, north of 36° 30° north latitude, except within the proposed limits of the State of Missouri.

The proposition of Mr. Thomas was what has since been called the "Missouri Compromise,"

protracting this unnatural struggle between the

pily for the country, forbearance and concessio

embers of a common brotherhood. But, hap-

ere able, at last, to avert the danger and soothe

and is in these words: and is in these words:

"And be it further enocted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees 38 minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: Provided, always. That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugilities may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

36° 30' was adopted in the Senate, as an amend-ment to the bills then pending, for the admission of Maine and Missouri, by the following vote:

of Maine and Missouri, by the following vote:

"For the amendment — Messrs. Brown, Burrill,
Dana, Diekerson, Eaton. Edwards, Hersey, Hunter,
Johnson of Kentucky, Johnson of Louisiana, King of
Alabama, King of New York, Lanman, Leake, Lloyd,
Logan, Lowrie, Mellen, Morrill, Otis, Palmer, Parrott,
Pinkney, Roberts, Ruggles, Sanford, Stokes, Thomas,
Tiebenor, Trimble, Van Dyke, Walker of Alabama,
Williams of Tennessee, Wilson—34.

"Against the amendment—Messrs. Barbour, Elliott, Gaillard, Macon, Noble, Pleasants, Smith, Taylor, Walker of Georgia, Williams of Mississippi—10."

After the "Missouri Compromise" had been hus made a part of the bill providing for the ad-

mission of Maine and Missouri, the question was taken on ordering the bill as amended to be engrossed, and read a third time, with the followo result :

"AYES-Messrs Barbour, Brown, Eaton, Edwards, "Ayrs—Messrs Barbour, Brown, Eaton, Edwards, Elliott, Gaillard, Horsey, Hunter, Johnson of Kenicucky, Johnson of Louisiana, King of Alabama, Leake, Lloyd, Logan, Parrott, Pinkney, Pleasants, Stokes, Thomas, Van Dyke, Walker of Alabama, Walker of Georgia, Williams of Mississippi, Williams of Tennessec—24.

"Nors—Messrs. Burrill, Dana, Dickerson, King of New York, Lanman, Lowrie, Macon, Mellen, Morrill, Noble, Otis, Palmer, Roberts, Ruggles, Sanford, Smith, Taylor, Tichenor, Trimble, Wilson—20."

Among these affirmative voters in the Senatwho thus recorded their votes in favor of the "Missouri Compromise," were Barbour and Pleasants, of Virginia; Brown and Johnson, of Louisiana; Earon and Williams, of Tennessee; Elliott and Walker, of Georgia; Galliard, of South Carolina; Richard M. Jourson and Logan, of Kentucky; Lloyd and Pinkney, of Maryland; William R. King (late Vice President) and Walker, of Alabama; Leake and Williams, of Mississippi; Van Dyke and Horsey, of Delaware; and Stokes, of North Carolina—making twenty Senators from the South. Only four Senators from the North voted for it, and eighteen against it. But two Senators from the South; (Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, and Mr. Smith, of South Carolina,) voted

in the negative. The Missouri Compromise having passed the Senate, was sent to the House of Representatives, where it was acted on, the 2d of March, 1820 The main question was taken on inserting in the bill the Missouri Compromise, prohibiting Slavery north of 36° 30', and decided in the affirmative by yeas and nays, as follows:

"Ayrs - Messrs. Allen of New York, Allen of Tennessee, Anderson, Archer of Maryland, Baker, Baldwin, Bateman, Bayly, Beecher, Bloomfield, Boden, Brevard, Brown, Brush, Bryan, Butler of N. Hampshire, Campbell, Cannon, Case, Clagett, Clarke, Cocke, Cook, Crafts, Crawford, Crowell, Culbreth, Culpepper, Cushman, Cuthbert, Darlington, Davidson, Dennison, Dewitt, Dickinson, Dowse, Earle, Eddy, Edwards of Pennsylvania, Fay, Fisher, Floyd, Foot, Ford, Forrest, Fuller, Fullerton, Gross of Pennsylvania, Guyon, Hackley, Hall of N. York, Hardin, Hasard, Hemphill, Hendricks, Herrick, Hibshman, Hiester, Hill, Holmes, Hostetter, Kendall, Keat, Kinsley, Kinsey, Lathrop, Little, Lincoln, Linn, Livermore, Lowndes, Lyman, Maclay, McCreary, McLane of Delaware, McLean of Kentucky, Mallary, Marchand, Masson, Meigs, Mercer, R. Moore, S. Moore, Monell, Morton, Moseley, Murray, Nelson of Mass., Nelson of Virginis, Parker of Mass, Patterson, Philson, Pitcher, Plumer, Quarles, Rankin, Rich, Richsrijs, Bjehmond, Ringgold, Robertson, Rogers, Ross, Sampson, Sergeant, Settle, Shaw, Silebee, Sloan, Smith of New Jersey, Smith of Maryland, Smith of North Carolina, Southard, Stevens, Storra, Street, Strong of Vermont, Strong of New York, Strother, Tarr, Taylor, Tomilinson, Tompkins, Tracy Trimble, Tucker of South Carolina, Upham, Van Rensselaer, Wallace, Warfield, Wendover, Williams of North Carolina, Wood—134.

"Nors—Messrs. Abbot, Adams, Alexander, Allen of Mass, Archer of Va, Barbour, Buffum, Burton, Burwell, Batter of Louisians, Cobb, Edwards of N Carolina, Ervin, Folger, Garnett, Gross of N. York, Hall of North Carolina, Hooks, Johnson, Jones of "AYES - Messrs. Allen of New York, Allen of Ter

Virginia, Jones of Tennessee, McCoy, Metcalf, Noale, Neston, Overstreet, Parker of Virginia, Pinekney, Pindall, Rasdolph, Reed, Rhea, Sunkins, Slocumb, R. Smith of Virginia, A Smyth of Virginia, Swearingen, Terrill, Tucker of Virginia, Tyler, Walker of North Carolina, Williams of Virginia—42."

The result in the House of Representatives showed that a majority of the Southern members voted for the Compromise. Of seventy-six Representatives from slaveholding States, who voted on the question, thirty-nine recorded their votes in favor of the measure, and thirty-seven against it. Yet, sir, in the face of these facts, we have just now been told by my colleague, [Mr. Rrady,] who addressed the Committee this morning, that this measure was never regarded with favor or received with satisfaction by the people of the slaveholding States; that they submitted to it because of their devotion to the Union, and because that submission was necessary to its pres-

This statement I emphatically deny, and I appeal with confidence to the writings of those who recorded its history at the time, and who witnessed for themselves how well it performed the great work of pacification for which it was dew favorably it was received by the

people of the South.

Before the adoption of this measure, I admit, all was apprehension and alarm. Yes, sir, alarm is a feeble word, to express the state of the pubis a feeble word, to express the state of the public mind. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written while the question was pending in Congress, said—, 'The Missouri question is the most portentous one which ever yet threatened our Union. In the gloomiest moment of the Revolutionary war, I never had any apprehension equal to that I felt from this senter.'

from this source. But so soon as Congress had adopted the Com promise, all was gratulation, joy, and peace— every patriot heart was made glad, and the pulse of the nation ceased to beat with painful appre-

Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, was a member of that Congress. He had previously been a Senator, a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and had represented us at the Court of Spain. He voted against the Compromise, yet he testifies, at the time and on the spot, that it was regarded by the slaveholding States as "A GREAT TRIUMPH." Though he had voted against it, yet he contributed to swell by his voice the tide of joyous accla-mation which went up from all portions of the country. The following letter will show how the measure was received at the time:

"CONGRESS HALL, March 2, 1820, "DEAR SIR: I hasten to inform you that this moment we have carried the question to admit Misson and all Louisiana to the southward of 36 deg. 30 mi free of the restriction of Slavery, and give the Sou free of the restriction of Slavery, and give the South, in a short time, an addition of six, and perhaps eight, members to the Senate of the United States. It is considered here, by the slaveholding States, as a great triumph To the north of 36 deg. 30 min. there is to be, by the present law, restriction, which, you will see, by the votes, I voted against. But it is at present of no moment; it is a vast tract, uninhabited, only by savages and wild beasts, in which not a foot of the Indian claim to the soil is extinguished, and in which, according to the ideas prevalent, no land office will be open for a great tength of time.

"With respect, your obedient servant,"

This letter was written by Mr. Pinckney, who vas a participator in the events which produced the Missouri Compromise, when you and I, Mr. Chairman, were "muling and puking" in our nurses' arms. His opinions are certainly worth more than those of my colleague, who, thirty-four years after the adoption of the Compromise, four years after the adoption of the Compromise, arrays his researches into antiquity, and his belief, against the authority of one who, though opposed to the Compromise, asserted that it was regarded "by the slaveholding States as a great triumph." Not a triumph of the North, or a concession to the Union, but as a triumph of the South. Mr. Pinckney proceeded to assign the reasons for his opinion—among which he mentioned that it would "give the South, in a short time, an addition of six, and perhans eight, members time, an addition of six, and perhaps eight, members to the Senate of the United States." Another rea-son assigned was, that the country north of 36° 30' was "a vast tract, uninhabited, only by sava-

es and wild beasts," &c. I do not admit or insist, that the Missouri Compromise was a Southern triumph, but, sir, I intend to show, that it has been regarded by Southern statesmen as a favorite measure, and one which they never desired annulled, or attempted to repeal, until January, 1854-and I further insist, whatever may have been the causes which procannot extend Slavery—certainly, then, less than a Southern statesman would see the propriety of letting things alone, rather than raise a tempest

of popular excitement, which patriotism may not be able to rule, or power to control. The adoption of this Compromise brought the ountry a repose from Slavery agitation, which promised to be more than temporary. It empelonged to us, and has not failed to keep down the fury which it allayed, except when other Terriories have been added to the Union, by which the Slavery agitation has been revived beyond the limits embraced by that Compromise. While the annexation of Texas was a matter of negotiation, the Slavery Question gave signs of again becoming a disturbing element. It was intimately connected with the commencement, the progress, and the termination of that negotiation, and laid the foundation of that overwhelming, Free Soil; Democratic organization, which has since existed in the Northern States, under the auspices of Mr.

Van Buren.
It was evident that the existence of Slavery in Texas was the true ground of Northern objection to annexation. The South readily perceived the difficulty, and sought the means of obviating it. The Representatives from that portion of the country remembered the results of the Missouri Compromise. They regarded it as a sort of un versal panacea for all the sectional jealousies and agitation growing out of domestic Slavery. In the very act of annexation they applied the remedy, and that remedy was the Missouri Compromise, which within the last four months has suddenly lost favor with those Southern politicians who have been taught to regard it until recently with so much veneration.

Congress, on the 1st of March, 1845, passed a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas. The third article of the second section of that resolution reads as follows:

"And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crimes) shall be prohibited."

was regarded as a Southern measure, and received the sanction of the great body of statesmen from the slaveholding States. It was adopted a quar-ter of a century after the Missouri Compromise, in which the latter is recognised as a compromise, and one which then appeared to be in favor with

It was again recognised by Southern Senators as late as 16th August, 1848, when (the Oregon bill being before the Senate) Mr. Douglas moved an amendment, in the following words:

"That inasmuch as the said Territory is north of

"That inasmuch as the said Territory is north of
the parallel of 36 deg 30 min. of north latitude, ssually known as the Missouri Compromise line," &c.
"The vote on this amendment was as follows:
"YEAS—Mesers Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton,
Borrien, Borland, Bright, Butler, Calhonn, Cameron,
Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Douglas, Dawson,
Fitzgerald, Foster, Hannegan, Houston, Hunter,
Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Metcalfe, Penree, Sebastian, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, and Underwood—33.
"NAYS—Mesers Allen, Atherton, Baldwin, Bradbury, Broese, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, hnry, Broese, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dix, Dodge, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Milter, Niles, Phelps, Upham, Walker, and Webster—

This was disagreed to by the House, me Southern members-as the Senate had done-voting for the amendment; thus establishing the

Compromise line was not regarded by Southern statesmen as destructive of the interests or honor

of the slaveholding States.

Again: in September, 1850, Congress passed an act, (one of the compromises of 1850,) proposing to the State of Texas the establishing of her northern and western boundaries, the relinquish-ment by Texas of all territory claimed by her exterior to said boundaries, and of all her claim upon the United States; and to establish a Territorial Government for New Mexico. In the fifth clause of the first section of said act is the following proviso, introduced on motion of Mr. Mason, a Senator from Virginia:

Senator from Virginia:

"Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the third article of the second section of the 'joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States,' approved March 1, 1845, either as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, or otherwise."

The word "otherwise," in this provise, was then and is now understood to have reference to the establishment of domestic Slavery in Texas, and the latitude which was to control its locality. Thus we find, as late as 1850, that the Missour Compromise, which had been extended through Texas, was again in effect recognised by Congress as a part of the legislation of 1850. If so, how could the legislation of 1850 have rendered, the Missouri Compromise "inoperative and void?"

I have felt myself justified in thus reviewing the action of the National Legislature, up to 1848-'50, in reference to this subject, from which

it will appear that it was always regarded by the people of the South as a favorite proposition, in relation to the origin and practical operations of which no complaint whatever had been heard. I nrust, in this connection, introduce one or two witnesses, who have heretofore been regarded by the people of the South as entitled to credit them, [Mr. Polk,] now no more, maintained a high character for veracity, and was a favorite with his party in Tennessee up to the period of his death. In 1848, President Polk communicated to Congress his reasons for approv-ing the bill establishing a Territorial Government for Oregon, with a restriction prohibiting Slavery—which restriction was similar in effect to the "Wilmot Proviso." Among other reasons for approving the bill, Mr. Polk assigns the fol-

lowing:

"In December, 1819, application was made to Congress by the people of Missouri Territory for admission into the Union as a State. The discussion upon the subject in Congress involved the question of Slavery, and was prosecuted with such violence as to produce excitements alarming to every patriot in the Union. But the good genius of conciliation, which presided at the birth of our institutions, finally prevailed, and the Missouri Compromise was adopted. * * *

"The Missouri question had excited intense agitation of the public mind, and threatened to divide the country into geographical parties, alienating the feelings of attachment which each portion of our Union should bear to every other. The compromise allayed the excitement, tranquillized the popular mind, and restored confidence and fraternal feelings. Its authors were hailed as public benefactors. *

"Ought we now to disturb the Missouri and Texas Compromises? Ought we, at this late day, in at-

"Ought we now to disturb the Missouri and Texas Compromises? Ought we, at this late day, in attempting to annul what has been so long established, and acquiesced in, to excite sectional divisions and jealousies, to alienate the people of different portions of the Union from each other, and to endanger the existence of the Union itself?"

I see now, in his seat, one of my colleagues I see now, in his seat, one of my colleagues, [Mr. George W. Jones,] who was a member of this House at the time this message was submitted to Congress. He voted for the bill organizing a Territorial Government for Oregon He heard that message of Mr. Polk, and approved it. I know how he answered these grave questions at the time they were propounded, and I would to-day repeat to him the questions propounded by Mr. Polk: "Ought we now to disturb the Missouri and Texas Compromises? Ought we at this late day, in attempting to annul what has been so day, in attempting to annul what has been so long established and acquiesced in, to excite sectional divisions, to alienate the people of different portions of the Union from each other, and TO ENDANGER THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNION ITself?" These were grave questions at the time, and the country responded with a united voice:
NO! I ask, what is there in the condition of the public mind, at this time, which renders these questions less momentous than in 1848? It has been less than four years since we passed through an intense excitement growing out of the institution of Slavery. The bitterness of that excitement is yet felt by many, and the wounds which were then inflicted have not all been healed, and duced it, that wisdom and statesmanship, the interests of the South, and the peace of the better suited to this hazardous experiment than

> In this connection may be submitted the testimony of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas.] His competency as a witness all admit, and his credibility his friends ought not to question. He is the champion of this proposition of repeal, and urges it with all all the energy of desperation. at Springfield, Illinois, in which he alluded to the Missouri Compromise as follows:

"The Missouri Compromise had then been in prac-tical operation for about a quarter of a century, and had received the sanction and approbation of men of all parties, in every section of the Union. It had alhad received the sanction and approbation of men of all parties, in every section of the Union. It had allayed all sectional jealousies and irritations growing out of this vexed question, and harmonized and tranquillized the whole country. It had given to Henney Clay, as its prominent champion, the proud soubriquet of the 'Great Pacificator,' and by that title, and for that service, his political friends had repeatedly appealed to the people to rally under his standard as a Presidential candidate, as the man who had exhibited the patriotism and the power to suppress an unholy and treasonable agitation, and preserve the Union. He was not aware that any man or any party, from any section of the Union, had ever urged as an objection to Mr. Clay, that he was the great champion of the Missouri Compromise. On the contrary, the effort was made by the opponents of Mr. Clay to prove that he was not entitled to the exclusive merit of that great patriotic measure, and that the honor was equally due to others as well as him, for securing its adoption—that it had its origin in the hearts of all patriotic men who desired to preserve and perpetuate the blessings of our glorious Union—an origin akin to that of the Constitution of the United States, conceived in the same spirit of fratornal affection, and calculated to remove forever the only danger which seemed to threaten, at some distant day, to sever the social bond of union. All the evidences of public opinion at that day seemed to indicate that this Compromise had become canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a secred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

Mr. Chairman, it is worthy of observation, that each sectional agitation of the Slavery question has grown, directly or indirectly, out of the acquisition of foreign territory. The great Missouri controversy was the unexpected result of that wise policy of Mr. Jefferson, which secured to this Government the Territory of Louisiana. The peaceful annexation of Texas, in 1845, was not accomplished, without some show of opposition from the public sentiment of the North, the traces of which are still to be seen; but, as Slavery existed in Texas before annexation, the public opin ion of the Northern section of the Union soon came composed. The ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848, announced the termination of the war with Mexico. That treaty brought territorial acquisitions, sufficient in ex-tent for a vast empire, and extended our national urisdiction from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean: but, sir, it brought, also, the demon of domestic discord.

Those citizen soldiers who had shown them selves invincible in battle, and who, under the stars and stripes of the Federal Union, had won for themselves Immortality, for their country Fame, were recalled from the "tented field" to witness that memorable struggle, which so long imperilled the glory of their recent achievements d shook the pillars of that Union which is the palladium of our liberties, and the ark of our

I allude, sir, to the great contest of 1850. That contest was important, in view of the numbers who partook of the maddening excitement of the times; remarkable for the duration of the struggle; and, finally, assumed an intense interest, when politicians began deliberately to calculate the cost of the Union, and to paint the glories of Northern and Southern confederacies.

Tennessee was named as the State and the vicinity of the "Hermitage" as the place, for the

fact, that as late as August, 1848, the Missouri value of the Union, were ready to take counsel together as to "the mode and measure of re-dress." At that convention, the Constitution was denonneed in violent and bitter terms, and was denonneed in violent and bitter terms, and "Secession" was regarded by many as synony-mous with Independence. At this stage of affairs, the people of Tennessee became alarmed. That alarm, or anxiety, quickly pervaded a large por-tion of the people of the South, who, in their de-votion to the Union, felt that it was in danger, and they deliberately resolved to withdraw its keeping from the hands of those who wantonly perilled its safety, or despaired of its preserva-

> Between the two meetings of this "Nashville Convention," the Compromise Measures of 1850 were passed by Congress. They embraced a final settlement of all the questions of Slavery, growing out of territorial acquisitions from Mexico. Against these measures a portion of the most influential men of the South arrayed themselves in fierce and bitter hostility. Opposition thereto was the rallying point of the disaffected. Upon that opposition they took their stand, and declared that the "gates of Hell should not prevail against it." The controversy between the Union party of the South, who accorded a cheerful support to those measures, and the so-called "Southern Rights men, who "acquiesced" when they were van-quished at the polls, was long and bitter. It resulted, however, in a triumph of the Union par-ty, and those who had been the original friends

> of the late adjustment. While this contest was being determined at the South, a battle of opposition to these measures was raging at the North. In some of the Northern States, doubt for a long time hung over the result; but the Union-loving and conservative spirit of the country prevailed there also, and "higher law" on the one hand, and "secession" on the other, were quieted and put down.

> But the great Slavery agitation of 1850 had been too fierce, and had aroused too much of patriotic interest throughout the country, to be forgotten with the consummation of that adjust-ment, which gave repose to the public mind. The wisest and most patriotic men of all parties began to inquire if there were no means by which the agitation of the subject of Slavery could be removed from the Halls of Congress. The end and most eminent citizens resolved to aid in its accomplishment. Among the first to conceive, and the boldest to execute, this determination, was that departed statesman, whose fame and public services, for more than thirty years, have been inseparably connected with our National bistory—a statesman who had been always found first at the post of danger, and who guarded with sleepless vigilance every approach from the ene-mies of the Union, or the disturbers of its tranquillity.
> Soon after the passage of the Compromise acts

of 1850, and while extreme men at the North were counselling resistance to those measures, and violent men at the South were denouncing them as a concession to Northern fanaticism, HENRY CLAY raised his potential voice in favor of the finality of that adjustment, and against all who were not known to be opposed to a disturb-ance of that settlement, and to the "renewal in any form of agitation upon the subject of Slavery."

Great and good men, of all parties and from all sections of the country, promptly rallied round Mr. Clay, and with him recorded their pledge of

ionor in favor of the measures of 1850, and against all further agitation.

During the year 1850, Mr. Clay and his associates, all of whom were members of the thirty-first Congress, prepared and published to the world the following

DECLARATION AND PLEDGE. DECLARATION AND PLEDGE.

The undersigned, members of the Thirty-first Congress of the United States, believing that a renewal of sectional controversy upon the subject of Slavery would be both dangerous to the Union and destructive to its objects, and seeing no mode by which such controversies can be avoided, except by a strict adherence to the settlement thereof effected by the compromise passed at the last session of Congress, do hereby declare their intention to maintain the same settlement inviolate, and to resist all attempts to repeal or alter the acts aforesaid, unless by the general consent of the friends of the measure, and to remedy such evils, if any, as time and experience may develop. And for the purpose of making this resolution effective, they further declare that they will not support, for the effice of President or Vice President, or of Senator or of Representative in Congress, or as Member

any form, of agitation upon the subject of Slavery hereafter.

Henry Clay, Howell Cobb, C. S. Morehead, H. S. Foote, William C Dawson, James Brooks. Alex H. Stephens,
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Henry W. Hiliard,
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H. A. Bullard, Thomas J. Rusk, James Cooper, Thomas G. Pratt, David Outlaw. David Outlaw, C. H. Williams, J. Phillips Phoenix, A. M. Schermerhorn, John R. Thurman, Daniel Breck, James L. Johnson John R. Thurman, D. A. Bokee, George R. Andrews, W. P. Mangum, Jeremiah Morton, R. I. Bowie, John B. Kerr, J. P. Caldwell, Edmund Deberry E. C. Cabell. Humphrey Marshall, Allen F. Owen. -Alexander Evans, TO BE CONCLUDED TO-MORROW.

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